HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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GOP Vice Presidency: The Goldwater for Vice President bandwagon is rolling among Republicans in the Capital. Not the least of the considerations that propel it forward is that Nixon's present vacillating strategy obviously requires, on the GOP ticket, another figure whose strong stand will help to ensure victory in the November election.

The Arizona Senator has won renown among GOP politicians as the man who—during the Democratic sweep in the 1958 election—knew how to achieve a re-election victory in his state, which had a three-to-one Democratic registration. Telling Arizonans he stood for a sound dollar and fiscal solvency, and against boondoggling, Goldwater gave a devastating retort to the demagoguery of his Democratic opponent, Governor McFarland. The latter had proclaimed: "I'm for Arizona first." Goldwater said: "I put the United States first."

Appealing not to New Deal Democrats in his state, but to those with conservative inclinations, Goldwater commiserated with the Jeffersonian Democrats because they had been boxed in a party "dominated by radicals." The strategy worked so well that Goldwater won a landslide victory. The Arizona Senator scorns appeals to "liberal," independent Democrats.

Additionally, Goldwater has established himself on the national scene as the outstanding advocate of reducing the excessive power of the labor bosses. He collaborated with Senator McClellan on the labor rackets investigating committee. What he and McClellan turned up has created one of the burning issues of the day, with massive public support (witness the successful passage of the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill last summer).

In short, Goldwater moves front and center on the GOP stage, as did Calvin Coolidge, who had put down the Boston police strike in 1920. Capturing the public imagination that year, the rank and file of the GOP revolted against party leadership and blitzed the convention for Cal for the Vice Presidential spot with Harding. When Harding died in 1923, Coolidge became President. Goldwater clearly is generating similar enthusiasm today.

Ever since Nixon dismissed "geography" as a factor in choosing a Vice Presidential mate, many politicians see no obstacle to Goldwater in the fact that he (like Nixon) comes from a Far Western state. They would take a leaf from the book of the Democrats: Truman in 1948 chose as his No. 2 man Senator Barkley of Kentucky, a state that adjoins Truman's state of Missouri. The ticket won.

Significant fact: the New Deal pundits, who seek to influence GOP strategy, noticeably play down Goldwater in the press. They obviously fear his growing importance. But, from reports in the country, the grass roots rally to Goldwater.

Straw in the wind: conservative Republicans in a Southern state will attempt (in the state GOP convention within a few weeks) to pledge the delegation to the National Convention to Goldwater—not for the Vice Presidential position, but for nomination for President!

Diplomatic Row: Foreign Ambassadors smilingly commented "quite a coincidence" as they read in the papers of Senator Barry Goldwater's tough anti-appeasement speech (March 15), made just as visiting Chancellor Adenauer was sitting down to a conference with President Eisenhower. In the conference, the Ambassadors added, the German would inevitably seek to stiffen Ike's back against the Russians.

The Arizona Senator found fault with US foreign policy as practiced since Secretary of State Herter has been in charge—especially about the US agreeing to negotiate with the USSR over relaxation of tensions created by Moscow itself. Less reliance on the United Nations, US resumption of nuclear tests and withdrawal of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia—were other recommendations by Goldwater.

Diplomatic Row appeared impressed by this well-timed and powerful utterance by a leading US Senator and expressed the conviction that the German Chancellor would return home impressed and encouraged. For, they noted, the very next day at his press conference, Ike gave unusually strong assurances that there would be no Western yielding on the Berlin situation.

Startling Southern Developments: The piercing rebel yells down South (signifying a new position of power by the "Confederacy") have led the advisers of Vice President Nixon to outline a new "Southern strategy" which—they hope—will garner almost all Southern electoral votes for the Californian next fall. The Nixon GHQ figures that, on the GOP ticket, Nixon can carry Texas (unless Lyndon is the Democratic candidate, which is doubtful), Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. The other "deep South" states—they calculate—will withhold their electoral votes, by the "independent slates of electors" (now legal in six Southern states), from the regular Democratic nominee.

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The Nixon strategists hope that Senator Barry Goldwater, who supports Nixon for the GOP nomination, and himself a Republican "states righter," will round up some of these rebellious deep South states and deliver their votes to Nixon.

● Hellzapoppin in the South! At a hotel not far from memorable Ft. Sumter, Southern Governors met in great secrecy last week, to discuss their fast-developing recapture of a strong bargaining power in the national scene (thus paralleling their come-back in Congress as a tightly-knit minority bloc, utilizing their "balance of power" on the fight over civil rights). A run-down of events spotlights this position:

(1) In Alabama, Frank Dixon, one of the big figures in the Dixiecrat movement, has acted to "put only Americans on guard" in forming the set-up of the "independent slates of electors." This "slate" phenomenon has become the now well-recognized preparation for a Southern bolt from the "liberal" Democratic party leadership. Dixon and friends will ensure that every elector on the slate in Alabama will be a reliable states rights man.

(2) In the national press, the pundits now rub their eyes and acknowledge that the "independent slates of electors" is not a Confederate dream but a political reality. (For some years HUMAN EVENTS has sounded the possibility of the "independent slate of electors." Recall an article, "A Southern President?" by John Synon on August 11, 1958? We announce for an early issue another piece by Synon bringing the matter up to date.)

(3) Virginia, it is now being re-discovered, has a statute on its books for a regular Democratic slate of electors which, however, may be committed by special state convention, to an independent candidate following the national convention—obviously Senator Harry F. Byrd, bulwark of the states-righters. This would presumably bring the total of Southern states rights electors to 69, sufficient to throw the Presidential election into the House of Representatives, if the North runs close.

Kennedy: With the youthful Senator running rather far out in front, the other three Senators (Johnson, Symington and Humphrey) also bidding for the nomination are believed pooling their friends and the varying forces opposed to Kennedy to stop him. HUMAN EVENTS learns from high on the Democratic grapevine that former President Truman is thumbs down on the young man and the thumb is frozen.

Other allies in the gathering "stop Kennedy" coalition are, as follows: California National Committeeman Paul Ziffren; Jake Arvey, Democratic boss of Illinois, and an old friend of Ziffren; and Governor David Lawrence of Pennsylvania, longtime party leader in that state. These may prove enough to fill one of those "smoke-filled rooms" in which nominations are settled at national conventions.

If not, the faction headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and various assorted "liberals" may strongly reinforce the coalition. Nor would it be surprising if the Southerners developed some collaboration in the "stop Kennedy" effort; certainly, they have common ground in their detestation of pro-Kennedy National Chairman Paul Butler. Last week, Senator Hubert Humphrey said that Butler had "outlived his usefulness" as a party chairman.

Labor Front: Republican members of the Senate Rackets Committee take no pride in the fact that the Democratic authors of the committee's "official" findings have seen fit "to issue a clean bill of health to [Walter] Reuther, the UAW International, all of its officers and to its more than 1,300 locals and many joint councils." In a blistering dissenting report filed last week, the GOP Senators say that despite a "fragmentary and entirely inadequate and incomplete investigation" of the United Auto Workers, ample evidence was uncovered to show that "corruption, misappropriation of funds, bribery, extortion and collusion with the underworld" have occurred within Reuther's union.

In both the Kohler and the Perfect Circle strikes, the GOP report charges, the terroristic tactics employed by imported goons and thugs made the Reuther union guilty of: (1) impairment of civil liberties, (2) destruction of free collective bargaining, (3) willful violation of law and organized incitement of riot and (4) the development of a technique whereby a private interest can use *illegal* forces to gain its ends (700 "strangers" showed up in Hagerstown, Indiana—population 1,800—to enforce the UAW's demands against the Perfect Circle Company).

The committee's Chief Counsel, Robert Kennedy (brother of and oft-time mouthpiece for Presidential hopeful Jack Kennedy), is given the major share of blame for the committee's failure to investigate fully Reuther and the UAW and to act upon the evidence that was revealed against them.

● A good civil rights bill, according to the "liberals," is a bill making it a Federal crime to obstruct Federal court orders pertaining to desegregation in the schools. A bad bill, apparently, is one which also makes it a crime for labor unions to block court orders.

This, in essence, is the stand the "liberals" took in voting to kill an entire section of the Administration's civil-rights bill when Senator Frank J. Lausche of Ohio amended it to make it a Federal crime for anyone —including unions—to interfere with a Federal court order.

Although the "liberals" had not uttered one serious word against Section I and had obviously intended to vote for it, they decided to kill it as soon as the Lausche amendment was added.

Senator Wayne Morse, who, the *Congressional Record* shows, said absolutely nothing against Section I before the Lausche amendment, introduced the motion which threw out the section in question. The big labor union lobbyists moved in and the "liberal" bloc bowed.

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Red-Tainted Churchmen: In the wake of the recent Air Force manual controversy regarding Red front affiliations of clergymen, the Circuit Riders (a group of anti-Communist Methodist laymen with headquarters in Cincinnati) has produced information causing no small stir in church circles although largely unreported in the press.

M. G. Lowman, coordinator of the organization, recently stated that his group has processed the names of 9,000 active American Protestant ministers implicated at one time or another with Communist fronts. A total of 2,224 Methodist ministers or 8 per cent of the Methodist clergy are currently listed by Circuit Riders as having Red front connections. Of the Episcopalians, 1,411 are listed, or 20.4 per cent of their clergymen. The Presbyterian Church USA had 614 ministers involved, according to the group. This includes 101 with three or more Communist front affiliations.

The Unitarians are listed as most numerous percentagewise, 43 per cent of their clergy having records. Circuit Riders maintains the percentage goes to 59-60 per cent if retired or otherwise inactive ministers are counted.

Lowman told HUMAN EVENTS *last week: "No clergyman we have listed has made a serious effort to disprove what we have published from our records. Only three or four of the thousands listed have in any way publicly denounced the charges. I know this sounds phenomenal, but that's the record."*

Illinois: Conservatives in Illinois gravitate behind two top candidates in the key GOP primary to be held on April 12: (1) State Senator Hayes Robertson, running for the gubernatorial nomination against incumbent Governor William Stratton, and (2) State Senator John W. Lewis, former majority leader in the Illinois House of Representatives, running in a field of six for the GOP nomination to the US Senate.

Robertson has won a reputation as a "militant conservative," and a man who "both talks and votes conservative." A man of high calibre in both business (manufacturing) and politics, he has many friends in the state GOP organization. Thus he has made rapid progress in winning over state politicos who regard "Modern Republican" Stratton (a slim winner in 1956) as a man "who stayed too long and did too little." When Robertson announced several months ago, the odds against him were said to be ten-to-one. Today, political observers say that Robertson's chances rate 50-50, and he has three weeks to go.

The thumbnail picture of Senator Lewis resembles that of Robertson. He's a "pro," yet he speaks and votes from deep conservative conviction. With a fine legislative record and a good presentation of rock-ribbed views, he's admittedly the "most experienced man" in the field to beat incumbent Democratic Senator Paul Douglas, who also "has stayed too long." Lewis' campaign fund is reported low and his treasurer, Arthur M. Tarman of the Lewis-for-Senator Committee, 69 Archer Avenue, Marshall, Ill., is seeking contributions.

Morris Candidacy: Two dozen Washington newsmen last week attended a press conference held here by New Jersey GOP Senate nomination candidate Robert Morris —a surprising turnout, significant of his rising strength. Morris seeks to oust incumbent Senator Clifford Case, a darling of the ADA.

Morris called non-defense spending the big issue. He took opponent Case to task for refusing a public debate of the issues separating them. Noting that Case's campaign literature intimates that the Senator has the backing of President Eisenhower, Morris added that Case "has carved out a rather consistent anti-Eisenhower Administration voting record."

In response to reporters' questions, Morris supported student loyalty oaths ("As a lawyer and judge I have taken such oaths at least a dozen times.") and backed the Connally Reservation.

Budget Battle: Conclusive proof that the big jump in Federal spending comes from "Federal-aid-to" measures and not from national defense needs is provided in survey results published by Tax Foundation, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Center, New York. Tax Foundation points out that the non-defense spending figure for fiscal 1961 represents an 86 per cent increase since the Korean War. In that period, defense spending has increased only one per cent. (HUMAN EVENTS has frequently pointed to great rises in non-defense spending in recent years and mentioned specific suggestions for cuts, most recently in "How to Save $5.7 Billion," February 4, 1959.) This analysis strengthens the argument of economy forces in Congress that big slashes should be made in the civilian part of the Budget.

Featherbedding: Scripps-Howard writer Dickson Preston recently traveled thousands of miles by train to see for himself if management's charge that featherbedding exists in the railroad industry is true. Here are some of his findings:

- On a 16-hour New York Central passenger run from New York to Chicago, each of eight different crews received a day's pay for an average of two hours' work.

- A Chicago & Eastern Illinois freight train which hadn't required an extra brakeman from Chicago to Danville, Illinois, picked up one as it entered Indiana, because a Hoosier State "full crew" law declares him "essential" to the safety of the train.

- Because a self-propelled crane doing maintenance work in a Milwaukee Railroad yard moves on rails, the

ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Member of Congress from Michigan and Republican candidate for United States Senator: "I always read HUMAN EVENTS and find its contents both interesting and helpful in the conduct of legislative business here in Washington. I look through each issue as it crosses my desk and many times file a particular issue away for future reference in connection with a particular problem."

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Government has ruled that the crane operator must be accompanied by an engineer and a conductor.

● A Wisconsin factory is served by two railroad companies. Because the trains of one company use the tracks owned by the other, and Federal boards have ruled that employees of the second company are being deprived of work, a conductor sits in a shack outside of the factory, earning full wages for doing nothing.

Get Out Conservative Vote: The Ohio Information Committee has launched a bold but well-planned campaign for conservative victory in the elections for the Ohio state legislature next November. The Committee—a nonpartisan independent organization—has as its principal objective to bring 10 "new" conservative voters to the polls from every precinct in about 50 counties in the state. Fred J. Milligan, Executive Secretary of OIC, aims to persuade at least ten conservatives, who haven't ever voted or who have failed to vote for years, to go to the polls and ballot for conservative candidates, irrespective of party labels.

Milligan participated in the successful drive (which took on nonpartisan proportions) in 1950 to re-elect Senator Taft. In that year and again in '52, Taft—instead of wooing "liberal and independent" voters—frankly sought to draw to his banner what he called the "uninterested" voters, conservatives who had previously stayed home on election day because both parties' candidates were "liberal."

The Ohio Information Committee (16 E. Broadway, Columbus 15, Ohio) calculates that if it succeeds in getting out 10 such conservatives per precinct in 15 of the 50 counties on which it is concentrating, it will make the legislature conservative again, as it was before the victory of Democratic Governor Mike DiSalle and Labor's COPE organization in 1958.

It should be recalled that, for years, conservative Democratic Governor Frank Lausche had a conservative legislature and there are lots of Jeffersonian Democrats in the Buckeye State.

Since the OIC is genuinely "nonpartisan," it has a good chance of raising funds. An Ohio Supreme Court decision (State, *ex rel,* Corrigan vs. The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co.) in March, 1959, held that although a corporation may not lawfully contribute for partisan political purposes, it can lawfully contribute for a nonpartisan political action program. Hence, corporation contributions to OIC are permissible.

Milligan emphasizes that the combination of Governor DiSalle's New Dealism and the social welfare spending program, pushed by COPE, Big Labor's political arm, has held back Ohio from real prosperity. In the coming campaign, the committee will have its hands full, because it will have to outdo the well-financed and seasoned troops of COPE, who have been markedly successful in getting out Democratic and "liberal" voters.

The "Liberal" Press: Two leading newspapers of the "liberal" press corps have come under sharp criticism from Representative Donald Jackson (R.-Calif.) for twisting a statement made by Cardinal Spellman on the controversial Air Force training manual. The New York *Times* and the Washington *Post,* according to Congressman Jackson, deliberately made the Cardinal's remarks appear to be an attack on the manual, which charges Communist infiltration of the National Council of Churches.

Cardinal Spellman, in his capacity as head of the Military Ordinariate—the diocese embracing all Roman Catholics in the armed forces of the US— and in reply to a query from the National Catholic Welfare Conference, issued the following statement:

"My position as military vicar has given me many occasions, extending over a long span of years that goes back to the beginning of World War II, of meeting and associating with chaplains of the Protestant faith. During these many years of association, I have admired their dedicated loyalty to our country and its purposes.

"I would deplore it if any unfair deductions from general accusations were interpreted to reflect in any way on their loyalty to our country or on the loyalty of the general body of ministers whom they represent."

The tone of the New York Times *story reporting the statement was expressed in its headline: "Spellman Scores Air Force Manual." The Washington* Post *headline read: "Protestant Ministers Defended by Spellman."*

Congressman Jackson immediately complained to Cardinal Spellman that the latter's statement about Protestant chaplains in the military service had been "deliberately distorted to indicate a blanket endorsement by you of the entire body of Protestant churchmen relative to their loyalty." And this, said Jackson, who is the senior Republican on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had done "grievous harm" to the fight being waged by many in Congress to disclose the efforts of the Communists to infiltrate American churches and "the efforts of a few Protestant ministers to further the cause of godless conspiracy."

In a return wire to Jackson, the Cardinal said he could not understand how some of the press had distorted his statement, and he commended Jackson, Congressman Walter and other members of the HUAC for "outstanding service in exposing Communist activities."

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Article Section II

Roosevelt's Fatal Error

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And How I Tried to Prevent It

By GEORGE H. EARLE
(Former Governor of Pennsylvania)
As told to GEORGE FOWLER

COULD WORLD WAR II, the most awesome carnage in human history, have been shortened to the advantage of Western civilization by as much as two years?

The answer is yes—a yes as close to fact as any "if" in the annals of war. There is documented proof that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt scotched carefully-made plans of men on both sides to eliminate Hitler and halt hostilities among the Western nations, while choosing to pursue his "unconditional surrender" policy with its final ghastly toll in wasted lives and Soviet conquest.

During the First World War, I commanded a submarine chaser and in 1942 *returned to active service as a Lieutenant Commander and chief gunnery officer of the transport "Hermitage," which carried General George S. Patton and his troops to North Africa. In* 1943, *just before Roosevelt and Churchill met at Casablanca and announced their unconditional surrender decree, the President personally appointed me US naval attache at Istanbul. While in this neutral city I was approached by German Ambassador Fritz Von Papen and Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of the German secret service. The astounding plan they presented to me was perhaps the most ambitious to come out of the war, yet it struck me as the chance of the century, and one we would not get twice. With millions of lives at stake, I thought it worth a try.*

Both Canaris and Von Papen were men of no small importance during Nazi Germany's heyday, yet neither man felt any love for Adolph Hitler or his national socialism. They told me that there were men in positions of power in Germany who had formed a network of assassination—a secret grouping of men from military, church, academic, and business circles who saw the destructive path down which Hitler was leading their nation. Their plan was twofold—to kill Hitler and end his mad reign while keeping the Red Army out of Central Europe. They had drafted a constitution for a provisional government to go into effect should the allies approve.

The two, along with Baron Kurt Von Lersner, who was in Turkey heading the Orient Society, a German cultural organization, wished me to contact President Roosevelt and outline their plan. Although the Normandy invasion was more than a year away, they were convinced of the futility of of the war, feeling only Russia could come out a winner if the present trend were not reversed.

Although I was aware of the menace of Russian expansion and felt that the plan had great possibilities, I knew little more than most people in the allied camp about the extent of the anti-Nazi movement in Germany. Among those who sought to overthrow the dictator long before the war began to go against Germany were General Ludwig Von Beck, onetime head of the German General Staff, Herbert Bismarck, State Secretary of the Prussian Ministry and grandson of the "Iron Chancellor," and Heinrich Brüning, former Chancellor and the leading Catholic intellectual in Germany.

MY FIRST CONTACT with the anti-Hitlerites came a few days after I checked into my Istanbul hotel. While in my room one morning, I was visited by a short, middle-aged man in civilian clothes, who identified himself as Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. Canaris told me he was disturbed by the Allied policy of unconditional surrender, and that it meant nothing but good for the Russians and ill for the Western nations. He exclaimed that those in Germany who felt they could get rid of Hitler if they could deal with the Americans had very little bargaining power left. "This means war to the end, the destruction of Germany as a military power, and the emergence of Russia as the dominating force in Europe," Canaris said.

I agreed with Canaris that Roosevelt's policy contained disastrous implications, and, sensing something important, I asked what he had in mind. He asked me whether I thought Roosevelt actually meant "unconditional" surrender. "Our generals will never swallow such a policy," Canaris said. "What terms would they consider?" I asked.

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"Perhaps you will take the matter up with your President," the German suggested. "I am leaving Istanbul this afternoon. I will return in 60 days. I hope you will have something to tell me."

Canaris had indeed been vague, but it seemed a valid feeler and I wrote the President, reporting the incident down to the last detail. My dispatch went off by plane in the next diplomatic pouch. Impatiently I waited, but no reply came.

Two months later my phone rang and I recognized the voice of Admiral Canaris. "I'm the gentleman who called on you unannounced two months ago. Has there been any progress in the matter we discussed?"

I thought of my urgent unanswered message to Roosevelt, then answered: "No, no progress."

"I am very sorry," Canaris said, and hung up.

Although I was unhappy about the Canaris incident, I began to hear whispers along the Istanbul diplomatic grapevine that Baroness Von Papen, wife of the German ambassador, was uttering strong anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi remarks in private conversations. She was reported to have called the top Nazis "besotted men, ridden with savage inferiority complexes." The Von Papens were very close, and Fritz was a devout Catholic—hardly a man to embrace Hitler's philosophy.

MY NEXT CONTACT with the Germans was not with the Von Papens, but with Kurt Von Lersner, the cultural group head. He had led the German delegation during the Versailles Peace Conference after the First World War and was now in comparative exile because of a fraction of Jewish blood. Von Lersner called me at my hotel. Although I had met him previously we hadn't talked politics. This time he said, "I have read about you in our Nazi press. Also, I am acquainted with some of your views on Russia. We have many things in common." Von Lersner pointed out my direct connection with the President went back to the early thirties, when I was Governor of Pennsylvania—the first Democrat to hold that job in 44 years.

Detecting key innuendoes in his conversation, I realized we had much to say to each other, but not over the phone. We decided to meet at nine that night, each driving alone to an appointed spot about five miles out of Istanbul.

The meeting lasted more than three hours, during which we discussed many matters pertaining to the war. Von Lersner was much less cryptic than Canaris had been. He told me that many high placed officials in Germany, Von Papen included, loved the Fatherland and hated the Fuhrer, feeling that he was leading their nation to destruction. He said they wanted to end the war before Hitler bled Germany of all its youth resources. They were concerned with the menace of the Soviet Union, an enemy they understood and knew must be stopped.

At that nocturnal meeting Von Lersner posed the the following question: If the anti-Nazi forces delivered the German Army to the Allies, could they count on Allied cooperation in keeping the Russian Army out of Germany and Central Europe? If Roosevelt would interest himself in their plan, he said, they would go ahead with their risky idea to assassinate Hitler and arrange for an honorable surrender preparatory to the formation of a democratic government. Von Lersner assured me that, even if Hitler were not killed, the latter would be turned over to the Allies as a war criminal.

Again I made coded contact with the White House, pleading with Roosevelt to pursue what these anti-Nazis had to offer. As the weeks passed the Red Army continued to grind its way westward, feeding itself on the tools of war Roosevelt's lend lease program provided. I continually pressed the matter with hopeless communiques, until at last I sensed the real snag: Von Lersner and his anti-Nazi countrymen had taken an absolute stand against Communist expansion, and this was disturbing to FDR—a man who had great faith in the integrity of his friend Joe Stalin. During the late spring and early summer months of 1943, Von Lersner kept after me—but still no word of encouragement was received from Washington.

During the summer of '43 Von Lersner called with a new note of elation in his voice. "Now you'll see. We have something definite to offer." We agreed to meet that night.

Von Lersner wasted no time in outlining the fantastic yet practical plan his cohorts were ready to hatch against Hitler. Aside from top Germans already mentioned, the plotters included Count Wolf Heinrich Von Helldorf, chief of police of Berlin, Freiherr Von Boeslager, a well-known German cavalry officer, and others of importance.

Boeslager and his cavalry brigade were ready to surround Hitler's remote Wolfchanze (Wolf's Lair), the Fuhrer's East Prussian forest headquarters. The cavalrymen were to move in on signal and capture both Hitler and Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler. Top Nazis would be imprisoned and held for Allied trials. Beck and other Junker officers in the plot would assume military command and move all German troops to the Eastern front until a cease fire could be arranged.

Before Von Lersner and I parted, I expressed my sympathy for the right thinking and courageous

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people of Germany who were faced with the behemoth task of throwing off the Nazi yoke while repulsing the ogre of Red Russian expansion. I promised to do my best with Roosevelt, and we parted in solemn accord.

Within a few hours my new dispatches to Roosevelt were on their way. To be sure that the all-important messages got through, I sent them by Army and Navy channels as well as the regular State Department diplomatic pouch. Although I was excited and optimistic as I sent them on their way, I should have known better. The President was under the spell of the Soviet leader and the wartime White House was no place to tell the truth about Russia. Strong influences who had the President's ear wanted to see Germany wiped out, regardless of the cost in American lives.

All the Germans required was Roosevelt's signature on a document stating the single condition that my contacts had relayed to me. If the President sent back a positive answer, I was to arrange to meet a plane which was to land outside Istanbul and fly me to Germany to set terms with Hitler's enemies.

Everything was set for the flight, but as the days passed I grew increasingly discouraged. Finally I received an answer from President Roosevelt: "All such applications for a negotiated peace should be referred to the Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower."

Although phrased in diplomatic terms, this was an absolute brushoff—the type of answer scores of associates learned to expect from FDR. Here was a clear-cut indication that the President had no interest in a valid plan laid by desperate but honest men to end the war and save countless lives.

In May, 1944, I flew to Washington to see the President. While waiting in an ante-room in the White House, I met Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. This was five years before his tragic suicide. I conveyed my fears of Russia, and within the shadow of the President's desk Forrestal told me: "My God, George, you and I and Bill Bullitt are the only ones around the President who know the Russian leaders for what they really are."

When I went in to see the President he was his usual self, full of humor, his ego riding high. "Mr. President," I said, "the real menace is not Germany, it is Russia." FDR gave me a patronizing smile and said: "George, Russia is a nation of 180 million people speaking 120 different dialects. When the war is over she will fly to pieces like a cracked centrifugal machine at high speed."

In Germany the anti-Nazis realized they would get no help from FDR and decided to go ahead with their plan to kill Hitler. America's disinterest undoubtedly caused many plotters to back out and brought serious gaps in the plan.

THE OPEN REVOLT against Hitler began in July, 1944. During the first two weeks of July, Hitler was at his Bavarian mountain retreat. On July 11 one of the plotters, Count Von Stauffenberg, received orders to attend a military conference at Hitler's lair. Despite the fact that American help was not forthcoming, a maximum assassination attempt was set, to be followed by a coup in Berlin and within the army, which was to disarm the SS and imprison its leaders.

Stauffenberg flew to the conference with a delayed-action, English-made bomb in his briefcase. He intended to start the mechanism after finishing his report, leaving his briefcase in the conference room with Hitler and the remaining participants. Stauffenberg changed his mind upon realizing that Himmler, whom he considered the most dangerous Nazi, was absent. The next conference was July 15, when both Hitler and Himmler were present. Stauffenberg was readying to start the bomb's mechanism when Hitler unexpectedly left the room and failed to return.

The plotters, meeting with General Von Beck, decided that the next opportunity to kill Hitler must be seized, even in the absence of other top Nazis. On July 20 Stauffenberg was to attend a conference at Hitler's East Prussia headquarters. Upon arriving he discovered that the conference could not be held in the usual concrete shelter, but in a partly wooden building. After giving his report Stauffenberg left the conference room at approximately 1 p.m. He had activated the bomb and left it in his briefcase under the conference table next to Hitler's chair. Before the blast Hitler left his position next to the bomb and walked to a wall map across the room.

The blast was tremendous, killing four men and wounding the Fuhrer severely in one arm. Erroneous reports were relayed to the anti-Nazis in Berlin that Hitler had been killed, and most of those who put their coup plans into operation were captured and executed. This major internal rumble appreciably hurt the German ability to carry on the war, since the Gestapo and SS executed key plotters who were leaders not easily replaced, especially with the Fatherland's military crisis at its height. Many American lives were spared because Hitler's patriotic enemies gave theirs, among them Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, the famed "Desert

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Fox" of the Afrika Corps. Von Beck, captured after failing in a suicide attempt, was killed by the SS.

Admiral Canaris, my initial contact, was arrested by the Gestapo and sentenced to death for treason. One report had it that he was hanged, cut down and revived, and hanged again. Another claimed he was hanged in an iron collar and took 30 minutes to die.

In January, 1945, discouraged at developments and realizing that my usefulness in Istanbul was at an end, I asked for a transfer, whereupon I was sent back to the United States and deactivated.

REALIZING THAT IT WAS TOO LATE to do anything about the Red Army advance in Europe, I nevertheless decided to travel across the country, warning of the danger of Red Russia and the folly of entering into treaties with them. I had written to Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, the President's daughter, outlining my thoughts on the Communist threat and what I intended to tell the American people. On March 24, less than a month before FDR's death, I received the following letter from him:

"Dear George, I have read your letter of March 21st to my daughter Anna and I have noted with concern your plan to publicize your unfavorable opinion of one of our allies at the very time when such a publication from a former emissary of mine might do irreparable harm to the war effort. As you say, you have held important positions of trust under your Government. To publish information obtained in these positions without proper authority would be all the greater betrayal. You say you will publish unless you are told before March 28 that I do not wish you to do so. I not only do not wish it but I specifically forbid you to publish any information or opinion about an ally that you may have acquired while in office or in the service of the United States Navy.

"In view of your wish to continue active service, I shall withdraw any previous understanding that you are serving as an emissary of mine and I shall direct the Navy Department to continue your employment wherever they can use your services.

"I am sorry that pressure of affairs prevented me from seeing you Monday. I value our old association and I hope that time and circumstances may some day permit a renewal of our good understanding.

"Sincerely yours,
Franklin Delano Roosevelt"

At Roosevelt's direction the Navy was able to make use of my services on the island of Samoa in the South Pacific as assistant governor of 16,000 natives — a rather poor platform from which to speak out concerning our Russian "allies."

I was recalled from my island exile four months later by President Truman. Friends in the Navy Department expressed regrets regarding my short political captivity, but I knew it wasn't the Navy's doing and told them so.

Upon my return from Samoa I knew no more than most others about the new President's attitude toward communism, but a letter he wrote me dated February 28, 1947, in answer to one of mine, suggests that he was not then as strongly anti-Communist as he now says he was.

The President wrote: "People are much wrought up about the Communist 'bugaboo' but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as Communism is concerned—we have too many sane people. Our Government is made for the welfare of the people and I don't believe there will ever come a time when anyone will ever really want to overturn it." This letter, still in my possession, was signed by Harry Truman on White House stationery.

As stated previously, history is full of "ifs," and surely "if" is the biggest two letter word in the English language. If Roosevelt had agreed to Von Papen's peace offer with its one condition it is my firm belief that the war would have ended by January, 1944, at the latest.

Without Germany, Japan would not have been able to hold out for more than a few months.

The great modern menace of Red imperialism would have been contained before it began to bud, and tens of millions of people would today know the meaning of freedom rather than the curse of Soviet enslavement.

Whether or not our optimistic hopes would have been fully realized had the Administration cooperated will never be known, but one thing is history—Franklin Delano Roosevelt refused even to try.

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Vol. XVII, No. 12—Article Section 1 HUMAN EVENTS March 24, 1960

Kefauver: Estes' Choice for President

Though Now a Forgotten Man, His Ego Marches On

By WILLARD EDWARDS
(*Capitol Hill correspondent for the Chicago* Tribune)

ONE OF THE MOST FORLORN figures in Washington these days is Tennessee's senior Senator, Estes Kefauver.

At the $100 a plate Democratic campaign kickoff dinner here January 23, "Estes the bestes'" was a forgotten man. He table-hopped with determination, grabbing hands, a fixed smile on his lugubrious features.

But all attention was focused upon upstarts named Johnson and Symington and Humphrey and Kennedy. Nobody had a thought for the man who in 1952 went into New Hampshire and knocked Harry Truman out of any ideas of trying for another term; led all others in the convention on the first two ballots that year; and was No. 2 man on the Presidential ticket in 1956.

A veteran politician, noting this pitiful spectacle, remarked:

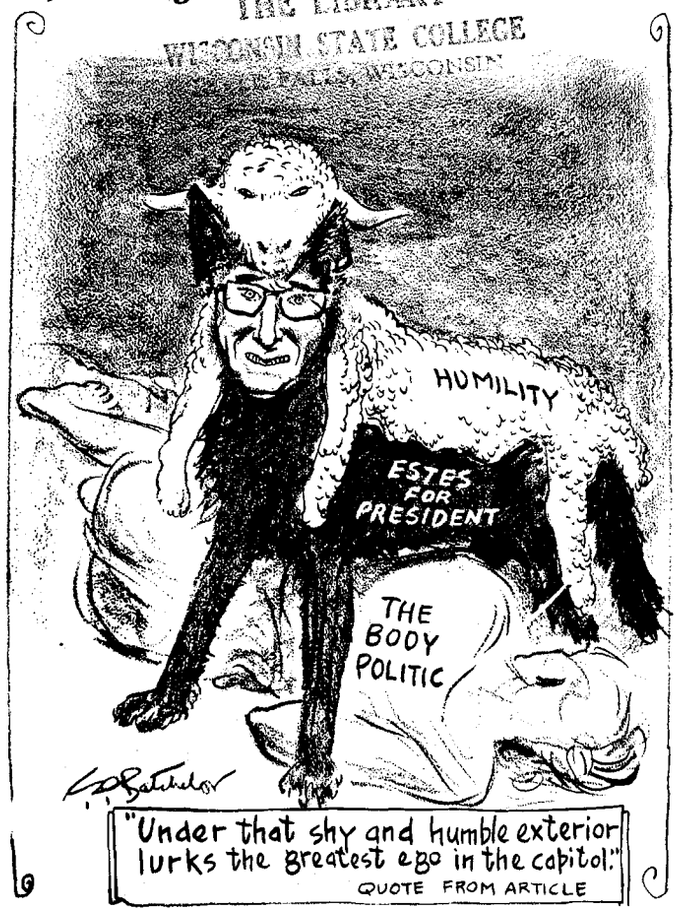
"Adlai Stevenson once said of Kefauver that he wanted to be President too badly. Under that seemingly shy and humble exterior lurks the greatest ego in the Capitol. The trouble with Estes is that he tasted fame too early, when he was a freshman Senator. Since then, he has never been able to reconcile himself to the lowly status of a Senator, mainly preoccupied with his home state's affairs."

A cruel observer once described Kefauver as the Harold Stassen of the Democrats. That was a canard when it was voiced because nobody but Stassen ever took his candidacy for high office seriously. Great numbers of people once took Kefauver's aspirations seriously. He won primaries in 13 *states eight years ago.*

Now, as he gropes frantically for a new crusade upon which to regain the publicity heights, the comparison to Stassen takes on some substance. Kefauver's speeches and press releases receive yawning inattention in the Senate press gallery. He is mentioned only in anecdotes about his automatic handshakes. Tourists wandering through the Capitol are frequently startled to find their hands seized and wrung by a tall, gangling stranger. One visitor reported that this happened to him three times in a half-hour.

The man who dreamed of being President suddenly finds himself confronted with the prospect of tough opposition in seeking re-election to a third Senate term. Already announced is Judge Andrew (Tip) Taylor, a strong vote-getter, who will oppose him in the Democratic primary August 4. Estes, who surged through 38 states in 1956, making 450 speeches, must devote his energies this year to his home state. The opposition will cite his voting record to suggest that he has neglected his duty to Tennessee.

Ten years ago, Kefauver burst upon the American consciousness as a conquering prosecutor of notorious


HUMILITY
ESTES FOR PRESIDENT
THE BODY POLITIC
"Under that shy and humble exterior lurks the greatest ego in the capitol."
QUOTE FROM ARTICLE

underworld characters. As head of a Senate investigation into crime and gambling, his face became familiar to millions on televised hearings.

The less-appealing facets of his makeup and appearance—the diffident expression, the soft, hesitant speech—became assets. He was a big, awkward country boy showing up arrogant gangsters and hoodlums and the public loved it. The television industry gave him a special award for staging the smash TV hit of the year.

Nothing resulted from that investigation as Kefauver inadvertently admitted a couple of years later in a speech proclaiming the dangerous rise of organized crime and gambling in the United States.

But, under the hot glare of the publicity spotlight, an ambition blossomed in the Senator's breast. He read the headlines and watched himself on rebroadcasts of the TV hearings, appraised his capabilities, and discovered a potential Chief Executive.

Tennessee gained a candidate for the Presidency although it frequently, in subsequent years, lost a Senate vote on important issues. Even Adlai Stevenson, the perfect gentleman of politics, could not forbear to note Kefauver's frequent absences on Senate roll call votes.

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Kefauver's rewards in 1951 included selection as "father of the year." He also sold his committee's report to the *Saturday Evening Post* for a price said to exceed his annual salary of $15,000 and his name appeared as author on a book, *Crime in America*.

He announced his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination in January, 1952, assailing the Truman Administration for failing to clean up corruption in Government. He had already offended the Democratic bosses by exposing links between the big city political machines and gambling. He helped create an uproar in Chicago which was deemed largely responsible for the defeat in 1950 of Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois, the Senate Democratic majority leader.

To all this, he had added an attack upon his party's foreign policy in a Philadelphia speech on June 20, 1951:

"I say this as a Democrat. The present Administration has given the public nothing to look forward to in foreign affairs for the next 30 years except war and paying for wars."

This was a judgment not susceptible of challenge. It was said, of course, to support Kefauver's project for "Atlantic Union," a political and military compact with binding effect upon the United States, Canada, and ten European members of NATO, under which American sovereignty would be surrendered to a world parliament.

Truman never forgot or forgave these slurs. Insult became mortal injury when Truman, toying with the idea of running for another term, permitted his name to be entered against Kefauver's in the New Hampshire primary and found himself soundly defeated.

Kefauver kept plugging away, loping from primary to primary. To the bulging-eyed horror of Truman and other Democratic leaders, he entered the Chicago convention as winner of 13 out of 15 primary tests and led on the first two ballots.

He might have won the dubious privilege of opposing Dwight Eisenhower that year if Truman and the others had not ganged up to stop him and place the reluctant Adlai Stevenson on the chopping block. Kefauver, sensing defeat, tried frantically to swing his votes to Stevenson and get the Vice Presidential nomination but was shut out.

Tennessee got back its Senator temporarily in 1954 when Kefauver faced the necessary annoyance of seeking a second six-year Senate term. He won, despite charges of left-wingism and softness on the issue of racial segregation in public schools.

IN 1956, Kefauver tried again for the world's most important job. By this time, memories of his high TV ratings were dim and he'd doffed his coonskin cap. He scored some initial primary successes but sensed the inevitable and withdrew in favor of Stevenson before the convention. That action was the stepping stone to the Vice Presidential nomination although it was preceded by a ding-dong battle with Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Kefauver's 1956 campaign is still recalled by the Washington press with awe. He pursued votes in every nook and cranny of the Nation, invading communities which hadn't seen a Presidential or Vice Presidential nominee since William Jennings Bryan stopped there in 1896.

His speeches featured frenzied absurdities. He offered fright in huge doses, asserting that H-bombs could blow the earth off its axis by 16 degrees, shifting the seasons. He was unperturbed when atomic experts said this was nonsense. He told Middle-West audiences that their milk and cheese contained deadly quantities of strontium-90, planted there by the Republicans. He repeatedly predicted that the "synthetic Eisenhower peace" would shortly explode into World War III.

Kefauver stressed that President Eisenhower was a man of many illnesses and boasted of his own good health. Then, scraping the bottom of the barrel for real scandal, he came up with a charge which startled the most seasoned political observers: Ike had "played footsie" with Senator Joe McCarthy!

All this went for nought. On election day, Kefauver found himself the junior member of a team defeated by a record 9½ million vote majority. He didn't know it then but his political sun had set.

IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS, he has tried hard to recapture the headlines that once were his. He centered his efforts on attempts to discredit private industry. He took a flyer as an investigator of juvenile delinquency, calling it a problem of "near crisis" proportions. This was a dreary affair although he hit temporary pay dirt in Florida by delving into "baby sales."

Recently, he has presided at hearings into alleged price-fixing in the drug field. He had to hurry because the Justice Department was already conducting a grand jury investigation in this area. Indictments of two companies were made public at the moment they were under questioning by Kefauver's antimonopoly subcommittee.

Perceiving years ago that the future of the Democratic party was in the "liberal" north, Kefauver became a zealous champion of so-called "civil rights" legislation. Back in 1948, as a House member, he had opposed anti-lynch bills and integration proposals. Asked for an explanation of the switch, he said he had "grown up" in the meanwhile.

But he is really close to no group in Congress. He has been indorsed by such leftists as Congressman James Roosevelt of California and former Senator Claude Pepper of Florida but many left-wingers are not too sure of his loyalty to the Socialist faith. Both North and South are cool to him, sensing that he is a true lone wolf, interested mainly in his own ambitions, obsessed with a desire to rise higher than the Senate, longing plaintively for the glorious days when he was tilting on TV against the evil dragon of commercialized gambling.

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